

of a lofty Clintonesque vision in a recent issue of *The Washington Quarterly*. Roberts extensively invoked internationalist acronyms—not just CWC, BWC and NPT, but GATT and NAFTA. Making some nonobvious connections between trade regimes and nonproliferation regimes, he argued that both must be carefully crafted to attract and enmesh a “new tier” of states recently endowed by technological evolution with the capacity to manufacture potent weapons. With all these acronyms now in a critical phase in one sense or another, 1995 could “prove a genuine turning point”; “basic international institutions will end the year either much strengthened or much weakened”—and if the latter, the prospects for a stable post-cold-war world will sharply diminish.

If President Clinton ever did decide to exert leadership on the issue of weapons of mass destruction, there is little chance that posterity would deem him alarmist. Not only are the threats he'd be addressing growing; their growth has deep and enduring roots: increasing ingenuity in the manufacture of destructive force; increasing access, via information technology, to the data required for this manufacture; wider availability, in an ever-more industrialized world, of the requisite materials; and the increasing ease of their shipment. The underlying force is truly inexorable; the accumulation of scientific knowledge and its application, via technology, to human affairs.

Every once in a while the inevitable results of these trends become apparent—in the discovery that Iraq had an extensive nuclear bomb project and enough chemical weapons to murder a small nation; in the fact that the World Trade Center bombers succeeded in a mission that, given slightly more deft personnel and better financing, could well have involved biological weapons rather than explosives; in the news that a nutty Japanese cult with an international presence was busily amassing a chemical and biological arsenal. So far none of these object lessons has been driven home at the cost of tens of thousands, or hundreds of thousands, of lives. But as time goes by, the cost of lessons will assuredly rise. ●

ORDERS FOR MONDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1995

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until the hour of 12 noon on Monday, December 11; that following the prayer, the Journal of proceedings be deemed approved to date, no resolutions come over under the rule, the call of the calendar be dispensed with, the morning hour be deemed to have expired, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day and there then be a period for the transaction of morning business until 1 p.m., with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each, and that at 1 p.m., the Senate resume consideration of Senate Joint Resolution 31.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. COATS). Without objection, it is so ordered.

PROGRAM

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, for the information of all Senators, by a previous consent agreement, at 1 p.m., amendments will be in order to the constitutional amendment regarding

flag desecration. However, no votes will occur and all votes ordered with respect to amendments and the final vote will occur at 2:17 p.m. on Tuesday, December 12, 1995.

Also, Senators should be aware that it will be the majority leader's intention, following the flag amendment vote, to begin the debate on Bosnia, hopefully, under a time agreement.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I now ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in adjournment under the previous order, following the remarks of Senators DORGAN and DODD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HATCH. I yield the floor.

Mr. DODD. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TRIP TO IRELAND

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, a week or so ago, I had the distinct pleasure of traveling with our colleague from the State of Florida, CONNIE MACK, along with a bipartisan delegation of 16 Members of the House of Representatives, to Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland on the occasion of President Clinton's visit there. It was a historic visit, the first time that a sitting American President visited Northern Ireland.

Allow me to say, first of all, that regardless of one's party, ideology or political persuasion, I think every American, those who were there, those who witnessed on CNN the President's historic visit to Ireland, were moved by the reception that our President received.

On three different occasions, at speeches in Derry, in Belfast, and in Dublin, the estimates of the crowds greeting the President were approximately 250,000 people. That does not include the thousands of people who lined the various roadways to welcome the President to the North of Ireland and to the Republic.

His reception was directly related to his efforts over the past 23 months to try and bring an end to the generational conflict in Northern Ireland. The last 15 of those months have been the first time in more than 25 years that there has been the absence of violence and the threat of violence that has stemmed from what the people in Ireland refer to as the Troubles.

The President deserves enormous credit for setting the stage for that cessation of hostilities. His decision to extend a visa to Gerry Adams, the president of the Sinn Féin Party, early in 1994 was the bold move that ulti-

mately resulted in the decision by the IRA to announce a unilateral cease-fire in the fall of 1994.

For more than 15 months, the peoples of Northern Ireland and Ireland, as well as people in Great Britain, have enjoyed the first period of unprecedented peace in more than a generation.

Still, the issues which are at the root cause of that violence remain to be addressed and resolved, Mr. President. Our former colleague, Senator George Mitchell of Maine, has been asked by the Governments of Great Britain and Ireland and the political parties in Northern Ireland to chair a commission, an international commission, to try and see if the issue of decommissioning of arms and related matters can be resolved as we proceed on a twin track, of commencing all-party talks by the end of February. It is through these twin tracks that the people of Northern Ireland can live in permanent peace, free from violence and discrimination.

The remarkable change in the North is very apparent to all who go there. President Clinton's efforts have made that possible. I would say to my colleagues that there is a deep appreciation on the island of Ireland for that effort. There was a risk involved in it. As my colleague, the Presiding Officer, will recall or remember, that the President received a lot of advice and counsel about the wisdom of extending that first visa to Mr. Adams, given the history of Sinn Féin and the IRA. Some questioned whether or not there was a sincere commitment to seek a peaceful resolution of this conflict. Even after the IRA announced its cease-fire last year some continued to question whether it would hold. I know the President heard a lot of advice, the bulk of it, in fact, recommended against extending that visa.

Our colleagues, Senator MOYNIHAN of New York, Senator KENNEDY, and others, urged the President to take the chance, to extend that visa and to test whether there was a true commitment to adopting the political track to resolve differences and whether a cease-fire might work. As a result of that, we have seen, as I described briefly, the events that unfolded over the past year or so.

Again, Mr. President, Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith and her staff, the Government of Prime Minister Bruton, Deputy Prime Minister Dick Spring, and other Irish officials, did a remarkable job, along with Sir Patrick Mayhew and the people of Northern Ireland.

I mentioned earlier Gerry Adams. This is a man who has played a very courageous part in the quest for peace for his country men and women.

There was a tremendous effort over many months that went into making this trip the tremendous success that it turned out to be.